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ABSTRACT

Intelligence tests are really only systems of classification of individuals with reference to others. Thus with such classification systems it is impossible to interpret a deficiency reflected by test scores in other than a socio-cultural frame of reference. Some 150 Black and White seventh grade children between the ages of 12 and 14 were administered both the California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity and The Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity (BITCH), with information of a socioeconomic nature collected on each. Results indicated that traditional tests of intelligence are specific for certain ethnic-socioeconomic groups within the larger culture. These conclusions were reached: (1) the California Test was biased in favor of White middle class populations over White lower and Black middle and lower; (2) the BITCH was biased in favor of Black middle class over Black lower and White middle and lower; and (3) the BITCH should contain both stems and distractors taken from the "Black experience" and be administered orally. (Author/MV)

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BICULTURAL SOCIALIZATION AND THE MEASUREMENT OF INTELLIGENCE

Since Black IQ tests are presently being devised and standardized in the Black community of America, it is felt that many researchers will take the results of these tests of intelligence and attempt to make comparative studies between the Black and White communities. It is believed that to do so would in essence be as impractical, invalid, and unreliable as comparing the same two groups (Black and White) on the basis of the previously used intelligence tests devised and standardized for the White middle-class in America. Black Intelligence tests (as presently devised) are valid for only a segment of the Black community in America -- the Ghetto Black Culture. In fact all intelligence tests that are not of a purely sensiomotor nature will reflect the social, experiential and financial background of the child being tested and will therefore be biased for or against all but the particular group for which the test was devised and standardized. Thus it is recommended that intelligence tests for each subgroup in the American population (for upper-class Whites through lower-class Blacks, Puerto Ricians, Appalacian Whites) be devised and standardized for each group which are of an equivalent nature; if we continue to insist on using the results of intelligence tests to do comparative studies to ascertain the worth of one culture or individual in comparison to another culture or individual.

The intent of the study described here was to show that intelligence tests are not only culturally specific, but more importantly that they are biased in favor of the particular segments within the larger culture for which they are specifically standardized.

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PLAN OF THE STUDY

Operational Definitions - In this context, certain operational definitions are used to define or describe specific ethnic and social class points of reference. These include: (a) race - as used in this study was based on a somewhat vague and ethnically oriented definition (asking students and teachers the racial classification of each student - in line with most past research). (b) Socioeconomic Level - refered to a combination of the financial, experiential and social backgrounds of the subjects in conjunction with the backgrounds of their parents and grandparents. (c) Ethnicity - refered to only the social (cultural) backgrounds of the subject population.

General Hypotheses - (I) All intelligence tests (except possibly those of a purely sensorimotor nature) are culturally biased, and as a result different tests will reflect different scores depending on the cultural background of the subject being tested. (II) In the United States the formal culture (those elements of the culture which applies to all persons in the culture) and the effective culture (those elements of the culture which impinges on and effect individuals or particular groups within the larger culture) may differ for different subcultural groups within the larger society, and these subcultural differences will be reflected in tests of intelligence as either socioeconomic or ethnic differences. (III) In the Black sample there will be a significantly large Rising Black Middle Class which in traditional studies have been included into the Black Middle Class population and as a result has lowered the average group scores of the Black Middle Class. (IV) The Black Middle Class in America has been socialized into two cultures -- the White Middle Class and the Black Ghetto class cultures.

Procedures - (Instruments) Two group tests of intelligence were used in this study. (1) The California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity (CSFTMM), designed to test a mental age range from kindergarten to college (specifically the intermediate test for grades 7-10) and consisting of language and non-language sections. The test presumes to measure five factors: memory, spatial relationships, logical reasoning, numerical reasoning, and vocabulary; and (2) The Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity (BITCH), devised by Robert Williams to reflect scores that would be as fair to the majority of Blacks taking the test as is the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for children of the White middle-class. While the Wechsler (Stanford-Binet, California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity, etc.) measured Black's knowledge of White experience, and classed that as intelligence, Williams professes that the BITCH measures White's knowledge of the Black experience, as well as Black's knowledge of their own cultural experiences (and the implication is that as with other tests of intelligence based on the White norm, the BITCH as such should be a reflection of intelligence). A Socioeconomic Identification Scale developed by the present author, from a combination of Warner's Index of Status Characteristics (1949), Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position (1957) and Sim's Social Class Identification Scale (1952), and additional items which he professes are necessary in such classifications; was used to arrive at three levels of socioeconomic standing: Middle Socioeconomic Level, Rising Middle Sociocconomic Level and Lower Socioeconomic Level.

Subject Population - The subjects were 150 seventh grade students in three schools in a large urban school system, selected because of the apparent socioeconomic nature of the community. Subjects

were between the ages of twelve and fourteen years.

The schools included two middle schools with student populations drawn from the overall metropolitan area and consisting of mostly lower, rising middle, and middle-class Blacks and Whites, plus one school consisting only of rising middle-and middle-class Blacks. Socioeconomic level was ascertained by the use of the checklist of socioeconomics devised for this purpose (described above).

The experimenters were three female students registered in advanced undergraduate university courses in education. All were in their late twenties or early thirties. They were given instructions on standardized methods of administration for both the California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity and the Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity.

Data Collection - On the first day of testing the experimenter administered the California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity or The Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity to all subjects. After a fourteen day interval the same experimenter administered the California Short Form test of Mental Maturity to all subjects who had taken the Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity at the previous testing and vice versa.

During the fourteen day interval between testing, data of a socioeconomic nature was collected on each subject by the present author. When all data had been collected, those students in each of the six groups who had completed a California Test, The BITCH, and a Socioeconomic Identification Scale were given a number and a table of random numbers used to select 25 subjects from a total number of subjects in each of the six experimental groups. (Note:

the six groups - White Middle Class; Black Middle Class; White Lower Class; Black Lower Class; Black Lower Class Read to; and Rising Black Middle Class - were assigned by use of the Socioeconomic Identification Scale.)

Data Analysis - Hypotheses 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the experimental hypotheses (stated below) were analyzed by using a three-factor mixed design (Lindquist Type III) repeated measures on one factor (Lindquist, 1953). Hypotheses 5 and 6 were analyzed by using a two-factor mixed design (Lindquist Type I): repeated measures on one factor (Lindquist, 1953). After F-ratios were computed for each hypothesis, Scheffe's (S) Method of Multiple Comparisons was computed on specificed contrasts, using the conservative F-test with minimal degrees of freedom.

Experimental Hypotheses - Within the methodological framework described, the general hypotheses stated earlier were tested as follows: (Hypothesis I) The California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity is an intelligence test which is culturally biased in favor of the White ethnic culture and more specifically favors the White middle class; this reflected by significantly higher average group scores for said groups when comparisons are made between other groups. Further, the California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity will reflect socioeconomic (moreso than racial or ethnic) differences between both Black and White subjects; with higher socioeconomic groups receiving significantly higher average group scores than lower socioeconomic groups. (Hypothesis II) The Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity is culturally biased in favor of the

Black ghetto culture and will be reflected in significantly higher average group scores for said group when comparisons are made between other groups. Further, the Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity will reflect ethnic (moreso than socioeconomic) differences between Black and White subjects with the average group scores for both the Black middle class and the Black lower class being significantly higher than the average group scores for the White middle class and the White lower class. Results using a three factor mixed design and Scheffe's Test for treands yielded the following conclusions: The California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity is an intelligence test which is biased in favor of middle class populations when comparisons are made between lower class populations; and that the CSFTMM favors the White middle class over other middle class populations. Further, the California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity is biased more in favor of White ethnic values than Black ethnic values. The Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity is an intelligence test which is biased in favor of the Black ethnic groups when comparisons are made between White ethnic groups; however, the BITCH does not favor the lower class Black subject (as was hypothesized), rather favoring the Black middle class population and further showing bias toward middle class populations over lower class populations. (Hypothesis III) The scores obtained on each of the six subtests of the California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity will reflect socioeconomic and possibly racial differences; with the White middle class scoring significantly higher on all subtests than other subgroups. Conclusion, the first six subtests of the California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity are

biased in favor of middle class populations when comparisons are made between middle and lower class populations. Further, the six subtests of the CSFTMM are biased in favor of White groups when compared to Black groups; with each subtest favoring the White middle class population over all other groups. (Hypothesis IV) The scores obtained on subtest six of the California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity will show socioeconomic differences with the White middle class population scoring significantly higher than all other groups -- whereas the scores obtained on the Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity will show more racial (ethnic) differences with the Black lower class scoring significantly higher than all other groups, followed by the Black middle class. Conclusion, the verbal scale (subtest six) of the California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity is biased in favor of the White middle class; as well as that subtest six favors middle class populations over lower class populations. The Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity, although biased in favor of the Black ethnic culture, does not favor the Black lower class (as hypothesized) but rather the Black middle class. (Hypothesis V) Subjects characterized as Rising Black Middle Class will score on the average significantly lower on the California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity and significantly higher on the Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity than those subjects characterized as Black Middle Class. Conculsion, the California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity is an intelligence test which is biased more in favor of middle class Black populations than rising middle class Blacks; further the Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity is an intelligence test which also is biased more in favor of the Black middle class than the Rising middle class Black population. (Hypothesis

VI) The mean scores for the Black Lower Class group who will have the Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity read to them will be significantly greater than the mean score of a Black Lower Class group who must read individually the test. Conclusion, the Black Intelligence Test of Culturally Homogeneity yields higher scores if the test is read to the Black lower class subject.

In summary, the results indicate that: (1) The California Short Form Test of Mental Maturity is biased in favor of middle class populations when compared to lower class populations; with the California Test being biased more in favor of the White middle class population than other middle class populations. Further, the CSFTMM is biased more in favor of the White ethnic culture when compared to the Black ethnic culture. Each of the first six subtests of the California Test is also biased in the same general fashion. That is, first biased in favor of the White middle class, then in favor of middle class populations regardless of race and finally in favor of White ethnic values over Black ethnic values; and (2) The Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity is biased in favor of middle class populations when compared to lower class populations; with the BITCH favoring the Black middle class populations over other middle class populations. Overall, however, the BITCH test is biased more in favor of the Black ethnic culture than the White ethnic culture. Thus, the BITCH is first biased in favor of the Black middle class, then in favor of middle class populations regardless of race and finally in favor of Black ethnic values over White ethnic values. The BITCH then is very similar to the California Test, except it changes the focus from the White middle class to the Black middle class and focuses also on Black culture instead of White culture.